beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until the first flowers appeared on the trees."

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century:

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291–292.]

The economic unit was the family or household, which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. The clearing and digging of the land were performed by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women.

The principal crops grown by the Terena were maize, sweet and bitter manioc, carâ, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco.

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

[Bananal Village]

times rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. 000

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic. 244

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana de terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried. 245 [252]

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco. 249 [276]

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it is the special privilege of the women to sow the seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described. 248 [462]

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used. 512 [372] [515]

[P.26-B]

[Banana] Village]

When the water boils, the woman of the house puts a handful of maté leaves into a special maté calabash and pours the boiling water over the leaves. Every one, starting with the father, then sucks maté through a tube, the calabash being passed from hand to hand until all have had enough. The tube may be of cane or if the family has enough money it may even be of metal. A decorated silver tube is a luxury which few Terena can afford. After drinking maté the people eat whatever is left over from the last evening's meal, such as boiled sweetpotatoes, meat mixed with manioc meal, or whatever fruit may be available.

After breakfast the men take their tools and go to work, either to their fields or to their carpentry or building. Unless field work is urgent the women and children remain at home, the women preparing manioc meal, sewing, washing clothes, and preparing the noonday meal. Right after breakfast the women go to the wells in the village to draw water. They fill their water pots and carry them to their houses on their heads. Often many women meet at a well, each taking her turn at drawing water with a metal bucket attached to a rope. In the meantime, the other women are engaged in conversation, usually amid peals of laughter.

When the sun reaches the zenith, the men return to their houses where the women have prepared a meal of beans, manioc, and dried meat. Each one fills his dish from the cooking pots and sits apart to eat, sometimes sitting on a low stool but usually squatting on the ground. Mothers provide the food for the younger children. Maté is drunk after the meal. Eating is a private act, while drinking maté from a common calabash brings everyone together. The Terena consider maté drinking an important social activity. After eating, both men and women lie in hammocks to rest. Around 2 or 3 o'clock they arise to return to work. In order to prevent the siesta from becoming too long the Post manager rings a bell sometime between 2 and 3 o'clock.

Near sunset the men return home, rest awhile, drink maté, wash themselves, and put on clean clothing. The wives then call the men for the evening meal, which usually consists of beans, rice, manioc, and perhaps some kind of meat. Sometimes the people eat "rapadura" or perhaps sirup with manioc meal before drinking more maté.

[P.27-A]

After resting, the men saunter around the village visiting their relatives and friends and discussing their crops and activities of the day. The women remain at home but men gather in small groups in front of the houses and are served maté by the women. Conversation goes on for some time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors return to their respective houses and retire for the night. In hot weather people sleep naked, covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets are used by the Terena.

During the rainy season when the crops are growing the men often remain at home repairing their houses or assisting one another in building new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and mats. During this period the women spin cotton yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew clothes for themselves and their families. As everywhere in the world, the women have such constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking, washing, and taking care of the children. The older children, when not at school, are with their parents assisting them in everyday activities, little by little learning the common duties and techniques of adult life.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were in the Chaco they lived in villages and were divided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa" in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they exercised some social control over their members by regulating marriage and acting in council to settle matters concerning group decisions.

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any village of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial

/43 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 result in a condition of dependency." (Max Schmidt, 1917, Ch. III.)

This ethnic
177 stratification must have been succeeded by a social stratifica-
178 tion, which seems to have resulted from contact with Chaco
565 groups, especially the Mbayá-Guaikurú. No matter what its origin may have been, the fact is that this social stratification became an element of dynamization of the original structure.

[648] We can raise the hypothesis that as a result of the symbiotic character of Guaná-Mbayá relations, the relatives of the Guaná caciques may have endeavored to adopt the behavior patterns of their Mbayá-Guaikurú allies, because these patterns
177 were expressions of a higher "status." The Mbayá-Guaikurú
178 not being tillers of the soil--but rather gatherers and hunters
565 and, lately, herders--, they left to their captives the agri-
461 cultural work which contributed to the stigmatization of farm work, the foundation on which Guaná society rested. And let it be said that this stigmatization is fully documented in the
178 chronicle on those Indians. Furthermore, our hypothesis seems
565 to be confirmed by the existence of certain modalities of
462 conduct that live on in the Terêna communities of a more
[171] archaic character. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we observed that the women from traditional families, i.e., those remaining from the old local group, do not approve of women working on the land, a fact which is "sui generis" since it is regarded as a commonplace in Aruák cultures that the woman should assist the man in agricultural work: on him devolve the felling of the forest and clearing of the land, and on her the /44/ planting, upkeep, and harvest. (67) The division of labor

171 462 177 67. Among the western Txané who live in a symbiotic relationship with the Xiriguano, also an agricultural (Tupi) people, the

144 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

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division of labor between the sexes seems to have kept its traditional character, showing that there has been a change in the system of production and labor of the Guaná owing to the process of acculturation with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. Consult Erland Nordenskiold (1912:159) who gives a table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Txané and Xiriguano.

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The division of labor among the Guaná, which besides is rationalized and legalized in the myth of the two civilizing twin heroes, would seem to have been somewhat different. In this respect Altenfelder comments that "the division of labor seems to be justified in the creation myth, in which Yurikoyuvakai, the twin heroes, give to men the implements of agricultural labor and the
462 weapons of war, and to women the spindle. The clearing of land plots and the cultivation of the land were masculine tasks. Warfare, hunting, fishing, and basket-weaving also fell to the men. The women's tasks were spinning, pottery-making, and household chores. The harvest was gathered by both
[177] sexes." (68) It is certain that these patterns were strongly

68. 1949:294-295.

disturbed and tend to disappear in the acculturation process through which the Terêna groups are passing and of their inte-
177 gration into the regional socio-economic structure. But the
178 existence of such patterns shows that at a certain moment in
648 the history of their relations with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, probably
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144 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

177 during the period when the "second form of symbiosis" (69) was
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69. Baldus points out two forms or two typical moments in the Guaykurú-Guaná symbiosis: the first refers to the Chaco period, before contact with westerners, when the Guaná and the Kaskihá (Maskoi), together and often mistaken by the whites for a single people, were tributaries of the Guaykuru; the second refers to the moment when farming was introduced among the Guaykuru, when relations between them were much more in the nature of a political and economic alliance--this from the second half of the 18th century. (Cf. 1945:24-27.)

established, the relatives of the Guaná caciques, influenced by their allies, came to stigmatize agricultural work, taking their women (and perhaps certain masculine categories) from work on the land. (70)

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70. The chroniclers say nothing about this. And our hypothesis, although it can only be checked against the remaining Terêna, may be regarded, in all probability, as one of the most significant variations of the Guaná associative system. The special emphasis on

[Traditional Culture]

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/44 cont./ The special emphasis on removing women from farm work is explained, on the one hand, by the important role they played in Guaná culture, which was organized basically around matrilocal extended families, despite the fact that the Terêna today, are bilocal; on the other hand, by the attempt to parallel Guaykuru women, who "throughout the period of their marriage enjoy the position of ladies.... It reverted to the husband's care to provide the game and other provisions to feed the family." (Labrador, 1910; II:26.)

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/45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives, who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e., the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer, who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature, and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

796 182 619 571 462 [114] [222] [223] /52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage, the soul of every festival." (88) Once the raw material had

88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for the same end." (89) And the function of these annual gatherings

796 182 619 571 [30] [302]

89. The chronicler goes on: "Some sew glass beads on pieces of striped cotton cloth, others cut and lay out the red feathers with which they make ornaments for the head; yet others sketch on their husbands' bodies delicate paintings, when they do not do this themselves." (1949, II:304.)

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only moment when the local groups manage to gather together all (or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 621 797 795 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all probability, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It [622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 621 With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a [144] minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is 101 829 Kinikinâu (one not being included). It should be explained here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 648 It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city, [241] that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small [482] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

/407 cont./

323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel. Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[462] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[824] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[439] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow. The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut. The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing, lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he extends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded. --
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family. The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña